

## Message Text

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POLITICAL ANALYSIS: POTSDAM REVISITED: RED STAR

REBUTS PRAVDA

1. A SHARP DIVERGENCE IN TREATMENT OF THE 30TH ANNIVERSARY OF POTSDAM INDICATES THAT THE USSR'S MAIN MILITARY PUBLICATION (KRASNAYA ZVEZDA, "RED STAR") IS AT ODDS WITH THE PARTY'S CHIEF NEWSPAPER, PRAVDA, OVER THE "LESSONS" TO BE DRAWN FROM THE POTSDAM EXPERIENCE.

2. PRAVDA ON JULY 24 (P. NAUMOV) HAILED THE 1945 AGREEMENTS FOR HAVING STOOD THE TEST OF TIME, SHAPED EUROPE'S

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POSTWAR STRUCTURE, AND DEMONSTRATED THE DESIRE OF BOTH THE

USSR AND ITS WESTERN PARTNERS "TO UTILIZE THE POSITIVE EXPERIENCE OF MILITARY COOPERATION IN THE SOLUTION OF OTHER INTERNATIONAL PROBLEMS. IT WAS PRECISELY POTSDAM IN THE SUMMER OF 1945 WHICH FOR THE FIRST TIME PROVED IN

PRACTICE THE POSSIBILITY OF EFFECTIVE POLITICAL AND MILITARY COOPERATION BETWEEN STATES OF DIFFERENT SOCIAL SYSTEMS NOT ONLY UNDER CONDITIONS OF WAR, BUT ALSO IN PEACETIME."

3. COUNTERATTACK: THREE DAYS LATER, KRASNAYA ZVEZDA REPLIED IN THE FORM OF AN ESSAY BY ONE OF ITS FREQUENT CONTRIBUTORS, A. FILITOV. HE ACKNOWLEDGED THAT POTSDAM HAD INDEED LED TO "MUTUAL ACCEPTABLE DECISIONS" AND JOINT DOCUMENTS WHICH STILL "COMPRISE AN IMPORTANT BASIS FOR PEACEFUL RELATIONS BETWEEN EUROPEAN STATES." BUT, FILITOV WENT ON:

(A)--THE "APPROACHES" OF THOSE AT THE 1945 CONFERENCE WERE OFTEN TOTALLY OPPOSED; THE WESTERN POWERS WERE PRIMARILY MOTIVATED BY A DESIRE TO BLOCK "PROGRESSIVE ADVANCES" (READ COMMUNIZATION) OF COUNTRIES LIBERATED FROM GERMAN OCCUPATION.

(B)--WESTERN REPRESENTATIVES AT POTSDAM, THE US IN PARTICULAR, WERE EAGER FOR CONTINUED COOPERATION WITH THE USSR TO INSURE ITS PARTICIPATION IN THE WAR AGAINST JAPAN AND SO WERE OBLIGED TO MODERATE THEIR POSITION.

(C)--THE INTERVENTION OF THE "MASSES" IN OUSTING CHURCHILL FROM OFFICE IN THE UK WAS A LESSON TO THE US SIDE; "AS A RESULT," THE CONFLICTING APPROACHES AT POTSDAM DID NOT LEAD TO "ABSOLUTE CONFRONTATIONS" BUT TO MUTUALLY ACCEPTABLE DECISIONS.

4. PRAVDA, IN CONTRAST, HAD ARGUED THAT POTSDAM'S EFFECTIVENESS PROVIDES A GOOD BASIS FOR ASSERTING THE PRINCIPLES OF PEACEFUL COEXISTENCE BETWEEN STATES OF DIFFERENT SOCIAL SYSTEMS. FURTHERMORE, NAUMOV STATED, "INTERNATIONAL DETENTE HAS NOW BECOME A FAIT ACCOMPLI, LIMITED OFFICIAL USE

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AND THE EFFORTS OF THE STATES AND PEOPLES ARE AIMED AT MAKING IT AN IRREVERSIBLE PROCESS." KRASNAYA ZVEZDA IGNORED PEACEFUL COEXISTENCE COMPLETELY AND INSTEAD INSISTED NOT ONLY THAT THE WESTERN POWERS HAD "DEVIATED" FROM THE JOINT POTSDAM DOCUMENTS, BUT THAT DETENTE REMAINS TENTATIVE; IN ITS VIEW, "THE OPPORTUNITY HAS NOW ARISEN FOR SWITCHING TO A QUALITATIVELY NEW ERA OF MULTILATERAL RELATIONS ON A CONTINENT-WIDE BASIS."

5. CLASH OVER GERMAN POLICY: IT WAS IN THEIR TREATMENT OF THE GERMAN QUESTION THAT PRAVDA AND KRASNAYA ZVEZDA DIVERGED MOST STRIKINGLY. PRAVDA ASSERTED THAT THE POTSDAM PRINCIPLES OF DEMILITARIZATION, DEMOCRATIZATION,

AND DENAZIFICATION HAVE, DESPITE ALL ATTEMPTS TO UNDERMINE THEM, "PLAYED A TREMENDOUS ROLE IN THE REORGANIZATION OF THE GERMAN PEOPLE'S LIFE AND IN THE EMERGENCE OF A NEW SITUATION IN THE CENTER OF EUROPE.... ON THE TERRITORY OF THE FORMER THIRD REICH TWO SOVEREIGN AND EQUAL STATES--THE GDR AND THE FRG--WERE FORMED. THIS WAS NO ACCIDENT. IT REFLECTED OBJECTIVE HISTORICAL REQUIREMENTS AND TESTIFIED THAT, UNDER THE CONDITIONS OF THE ROUT OF HITLERITE FASCISM AND RELYING ON THE DEMOCRATIC DECISIONS OF POTSDAM, THE GERMAN PEOPLE'S ANTI-FASCIST DEMOCRATIC FORCES COULD END THE COMPLETE DOMINATION OF MILITARIST, IMPERIALIST FORCES IN ACCORDANCE WITH THE GERMAN PEOPLE'S OLD DREAM OF STABLE PEACE AND GOOD COOPERATION WITH OTHER PEOPLES."

6. KRASNAYA ZVEZDA SAW GERMANY IN AN ENTIRELY DIFFERENT LIGHT, WITH THE GDR CONSPICUOUSLY ALONE WHERE POTSDAM FULFILLMENT IS CONCERNED AND THE "GERMAN" PEOPLE JUST AS CONSPICUOUSLY ABSENT:

7. "THE POTSDAM AGREEMENT DETERMINED THE PATHS FOR THE PEACEFUL AND DEMOCRATIC DEVELOPMENT OF GERMANY, HISTORY'S FIRST WORKER AND PEASANT STATE ON GERMAN SOIL, FORMED ON 7 OCTOBER 1949--THE GDR--BECAME AN IMPORTANT FACTOR IN CONSERVING PEACE AND SECURITY IN EUROPE.

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8. "IN THE GDR, MILITARISM AND NAZISM HAVE BEEN ERADICATED FOREVER AND THE DECISIONS OF THE POTSDAM CONFERENCE HAVE BEEN SCRUPULOUSLY FULFILLED. THE COLD WAR POLICY WHICH THE WESTERN POWERS PURSUED AFTER POTSDAM LED TO THE POINT WHERE SEVERAL CONFERENCE DECISIONS WERE NOT FULFILLED OR WERE FULFILLED ONLY PARTIALLY.... DURING THOSE YEARS WEST GERMAN CHANCELLOR ADENAUER SPOKE OF THE POTSDAM 'NIGHTMARE,' URGING THAT IT BE 'FORGOTTEN.'"

5. BONES OF CONTENTION: KRASNAYA ZVEZDA APPEARS TO BE INDICATING, IN CONTRAST TO PRAVDA'S LINE, PARTLY BY ?MIS-SION OF KEY POINTS, THAT:

(A)--MUTUALLY ACCEPTABLE AGREEMENTS WITH THE WESTERN POWERS MAY BE POSSIBLE ON OCCASION DESPITE CONFLICTING

APPROACHES, BUT THIS DOES NOT NECESSARILY INCLUDE MILITARY COOPERATION IN PEACETIME CONDITIONS.

(B)--REALISTIC WESTERN ASSESSMENTS OF SOVIET STRENGTH, THE USELESSNESS OF NUCLEAR BLACKMAIL, AND OF THE "WILL OF

THE POPULAR MASSES," TAKEN TOGETHER WITH "THE DYNAMISM AND FLEXIBILITY OF SOVIET DIPLOMACY," IS WHAT MADE SUCH JOINT DOCUMENTS AS POTSDAM POSSIBLE.

(C)--POTSDAM HAS BEEN IMPLEMENTED ONLY IN THE PART OF GERMANY WHICH IS SOVIET-CONTROLLED; THERE ARE MERELY "OPPORTUNITIES" AT HAND FOR DEVELOPING MULTILATERAL RELATIONS IN EUROPE; DETENTE IS BY NO MEANS AN ACCOMPLISHED FACT.

10. THE JOURNALISTIC EXCHANGE SUGGESTS THAT:

(A)--THERE ARE INHIBITIONS WITHIN THE SOVIET MILITARY TO "MILITARY COOPERATION" WITH THE WEST IN THE EUROPEAN CONTEXT, WHICH IN TURN IMPLIES THAT THE INNER-SOVIET DISCUSSION OVER MBFR IS SHARPENING AND BEING FOUGHT IN PART FROM INSTITUTIONAL POSITIONS. (THE KRASNAYA ZVEZDA TRIBUTE TO SOVIET "DIPLOMACY" HINTS AT SYMPATHIES IF NOT BACKING, FROM SOME CIVILIAN DIPLOMATS FOR AT LEAST PART OF THE MILITARY STANCE ON THIS SCORE.)  
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(B)--THE PROPAGATORS OF THE NAUMOV LINE IN PRAVDA ARE SPEAKING IN TERMS OF ONE GERMANY COMPOSED OF TWO SEPARATE STATES, WITH NEW EMPHASIS ON THE "GERMAN PEOPLE." THE MILITARY, HOWEVER, COMES DOWN HARD FOR THE TRADITIONAL COMMITMENT TO THE GDR ALONE. WITH CSCE NAILED DOWN, AND MBFR NOW MOVING TO THE FOREFRONT, QUESTIONS OF GERMAN POLICY AGAIN SEEM TO BE LOOMING LARGER IN SOVIET DOMESTIC POLITICS. KISSINGER

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